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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted of two Missouri communities to investigate neighborhood change between 1956 and 1966 and social cliques as possible emerging replacements for neighborhoods. Ozark, in an economically disadvantaged southern part of the State, has experienced drastic farm changes, from general to dairy farming and later to enterprises more compatible with off-farm employment. The majority of the people have become disassociated from farming as an occupation and many others are marginally committed. In Prairie, most changes were improvements in farming; the majority in the open country are engaged in farming full time. In interviews in 1956 and 1966, farmers were asked questions eliciting the names of specific persons with whom each farmer said he associated most closely, those he regarded as best friends, and those from whom he obtained general information about farming and with whom he exchanged work. Changes were assessed by examining shifts in membership within social cliques and neighborhoods and from one to another and social association and friendship. The shift from neighborhood to clique association did not occur in Prairie, but both social association and farming informational exchange became more diffuse. In Ozark, a shift occurred at the expense of neighborhood membership, but the shift to affiliation with neither a neighborhood nor social clique was even greater. The changes support the view that social clique formation is the product of a differentiation of interest occurring within the society. (KM)

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CHANGING NEIGHBORHOOD AND CLIQUE STRUCTURE IN TWO MISSOURI COMMUNITIES, 1955-66[1]

Herbert F. Lionberger and Chii-jeng Yeh[2]

I. Issues and Rationale

Neighborhoods, once a favorite subject of study of rural sociologists became almost a dead issue by the mid-1950's, when an era of neighborhood studies came to an end. Most sociologists seemed quite willing to assume the eventual, if not current, demise of neighborhoods as meaningful sociological units in rural society. Slocum and Case (1953) found that local people could delineate neighborhoods, but that the residents included did not regard themselves as members. Jehlik and Wakeley (1949) found neighborhoods in Hamilton County, Iowa of declining importance, while Jehlik and Losey (1951) concluded from an Indiana study that neighborhoods had been supplanted as meaningful areas of togetherness. Except for Christiansen (1957), who was concerned with the behavioral correlates of persons living in neighborhoods, these studies marked an end to rural neighborhood studies as such.[3] At the same time Loomis and Beegle (1950, 134-171) were extolling cliques as emerging informal social groups beyond the family in rural society as being of most importance. A Dyess County, Mississippi study was cited as an example of the great influence that cliques have on the important decisions that people make. Miller and Beegle (1947), despairing at the ability of even experts to find neighborhoods in Livingston County,

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Michigan concluded that "anyone can find friendship and mutual aid groups" in all parts of the county. Loomis and Beegle further insisted that social cliques were the most important locality groups through which change agents should work, in contrast to recommendations a decade earlier that neighborhoods were the most appropriate units. (Musser, 1947 and Rogers, 1960, P. 74.)

Yet, throughout this entire period (roughly 1951 to date), diffusion researchers using neighborhoods as independent variables repeatedly found that they had a tendency to localize interpersonal communication about farming (Lionberger and Coughenour, 1957; Bruton, 1970). Marsh and Coleman (1954 and 1956) and Young (1959) emphasized the differential rate at which farmers living in different neighborhoods adopted new farm practices and the influence that neighborhood norms had on technological competence of farmers sought as sources of farm information.

Our study marks a return to neighborhoods and neighborhood change as focal entities for considerations and social cliques as possible emerging replacements for neighborhoods. We first ask several questions about the existance of neighborhoods and social cliques in the two Missouri communities at the two points in time, 1956-1966 and the changes that occurred in these informal social groups over the ten-year period. Answers to these questions are followed by hypothesized explanations and empirical evidence bearing on why these changes may have occurred.

II. The Research Base

Two Missouri Communities, one (Ozark) in an economically disadvantaged southern part of the state and another (Prairie) in northwest Missouri, where conditions are favorable to farming, provided the data base for the

study. In Ozark, farmers had been forced to make a series of drastic farm enterprise changes, which included shifts from general to dairy farming and later to enterprises like feeder pig and cattle production more compatable with off-farm employment. These gradually became an accepted, rather than a reluctantly made adjustment to the adverse economic conditions in the community. No more than one-third of the open country residents (less in 1966 than 1956) were sufficiently committed to farming to meet the very modest $1,000 gross off-farm sales required for inclusion in the sample. Thus, the great majority of the people living in the open country had become completely disassociated from farming as an occupation and many others were only marginally committed. The geographic proximity of other local persons not included must be viewed and understood as a limitation of the analysis and conclusions which follow.

This was all in great contrast to Prairie, where the vast majority of people living in the open country were exclusively engaged in farming as a fulltime occupation. Farm enterprises had remained very stable for several decades with corn, hogs, beef cattle and more recently soybeans as the chief farm commodities produced. Most changes the farmers had to make were improvements in long-existing farm enterprises. True, the economic base of the community, as in Ozark, was not sufficient to accomodate all of the sons and daughters of farmers who preferred to remain on farms in the local community.

The two trade area communities were operationally defined in the Galpin (1915) and Sanderson (1942, 283-286) tradition by determining the trade area to which each of the farmers at the periphery most frequently went for goods and services that they needed. Habits of frequenting the community trade center over others were such that little difficulty was

encountered in determining who should be included and who should be excluded from the farmers interviewed. Except for refusals of less than 5 percent, all were interviewed, 238 and 227 in Ozark in 1956 and '66, respectively, and 218 and 174 in Prairie in 1956 and '66, respectively. Questions which served as the sociometric base for assessing the social significance of neighborhoods and social cliques were those which elicited the names of specific persons with whom each farmer said he associated most closely, those he regarded as best friends, and those from whom he obtained general information about farming, and with whom he exchanged work.

III. Expectations and Methods of Analysis

Approaches to determining the changes in neighborhood and clique structure that had occurred started with the number of neighborhoods that existed in the two communities and the percent of farm operators who were members of neighborhoods and cliques at the two points in time. Shifts in membership within social cliques and neighborhoods as well as from one to the other were noted. The prime focus of attention in assessing change was also on social association and friendship relationships among the farmers interviewed. Accordingly, the extent to which such mentions either occurred and/or were reciprocated within and across social clique and neighborhood lines was the predominant focus of attention. Acquisition of farm information and work exchange was regarded essentially as independent variables to explain neighborhood persistence. Since locality alone has a restraining influence on social interaction, areas of comparative size (geographic and residential) and location with reference to the community center were delineated for comparative purposes. Care

was taken to retain as much continuity in control areas from 1956 to 1966 as possible. This allowed direct comparison of neighborhood containment and/or choice reciprocation with the same in comparable control groups.

According to the contention of previous researchers that direct questioning for delineating social cliques would not suffice, we used social associate and best friend mentions as the primary data base. Conceptually, cliques were regarded as aggregates of social associates who presumably regarded each other as social equals (Fairchild, 1957) and were held together by common feelings of affinity which included kinship as one possibility. Operationally, the delineation procedure started with a triad of close associate and best friend choices. Others were added as own choice and/or the statement of others about who associated with whom warranted. Doubtful cases were included or excluded on the basis of information supplied by knowledgeable local residents. A much more detailed description of the delineation procedure is reported by Bruton (1970, 46-47).

An implicit assumption in the delineation procedure was that if neighborhoods really existed as distinguishable social entities, any knowledgeable person living in the neighborhood could specify the geographic extent of their boundaries, and thus the persons who belonged and those who did not. The procedure was to ask locally knowledgeable respondents to indicate on a road map showing occupied houses, the outside extremities of the neighborhood. If two informants agreed on what farmers should be included and excluded, the delineation was accepted without further question. If there were discrepancies, additional information was sought as to who belonged and who didn't. As a further check of this simple initial neighborhood delineation in 1966, each farmer

was asked to indicate to what neighborhood, if any, he belonged. The net result was that no one was included in the original delineation by the use of local judges that did not also say that he was a member of the neighborhood. On the other hand, there were a few additional persons who also said that they were members. Some lived immediately peripheral to the boundary delineated by local informants, but some lived ten or more miles distant. Peripheral persons were added, if by so doing, outsiders were not also included in the expanded boundary and if they could be included without gross gerrymandering of the neighborhood boundary. Although direct verification was not possible, the investigators strongly suspected that distant affiliates were either persons who had formerly lived in the neighborhood and moved away, or who, as in one neighborhood, attended a church, which formed the chief integrating influence of the neighborhood.

Finally, as an assessment of what changes were taking place, the authors devised and applied a cohesiveness measure, which took into account (1) the extent to which total associate and friendship choices of the farmers interviewed were contained within own neighborhood or control group, as opposed to outside own group choices, and (2) the degree to which reciprocated choices occurred (a) in situations where inside-group choices were greater than those to the outside (cohesion) or (b) the reverse (repulsion), where reciprocation is computed for out-group choices in situations where these exceeded in-group choices.[4] This produced a cohesiveness - repulsion measure which ranged from a plus 1 to minus 1. Zero cohesiveness represented a situation where outward choice exactly equaled in-group choices or where no choices were reciprocated; positive numbers, situations where choices of own group

members as associates exceeded choices of outsiders and a negative number, an inverse kind of cohesiveness, that might be called repulsion. In interpreting scores, it must be recognized that a zero or slightly minus figure could still be indicative of kind of within-group attraction, because the opportunity for out choice is always greater than for own-group choice. Thus, any lowering of outward choice and reciprocation tendencies that occurred over that present in control groups of comparable size and location, is a kind of cohesiveness that the instrument devised would report not as positive, but as somewhat less negative, (i.e., less repulsive). The cohesiveness changes that occurred in the two communities over time was regarded as an additional measure in depth of the changes in social association which occurred over the ten-year period.

The second general series of questions was directed to why neighborhoods and cliques continued to exist and/or change during the ten-year period. Two possibilities were posed with reference to neighborhoods, namely (1) that they existed as a product of an associational base provided by formal group participation or (2) that they mainly existed as instrumental mechanisms in support of the occupation of farming. Participation scores were assigned to form a modified Chapin (1947) scale with one point for group membership, two for occasional attendance at meetings, three for regular attendance, four for committee membership and five for being an officer. This provided a measure for assessing the incidence of formal group participation within and outside social cliques and neighborhoods and thus the potential integrating effect that such participation had on neighborhoods and social cliques. Two indicators for testing the hypothesized "instrumental contribution

to farming" explanation were provided by (1) who named whom as a source of farm information, and (2) with whom, if anybody, each farmer exchanged work.

Although the approach to changing informal group structures in the two communities was essentially empirical, certain conditions in regard to stability and change were expected; namely,

1. Some decline in neighborhood membership and cohesion but with a persistence of some neighborhoods, perhaps even with growth in strength in some cases.
2. More persistence of interpersonal acquisition of farm information and work exchange than social association in neighborhoods.
3. An increase in clique membership roughly in proportion to the decline in neighborhood membership.
4. Changes in both neighborhood and clique affiliation to be greater in Ozark, in process of rapid transition to off-farm employment, than in Prairie where agriculture continued to be the chief source of economic support.

IV. Findings

We start with a defence of the community concept as we have used it, which embodies the idea of community as a farm service center with farmers living on isolated farmsteads in the surrounding country in which distinctive kinds of social association and feelings of affinity are assumed to develop. This idea, which surely must have been appropriate in times past, than now, has been the subject of increasing question as to its applicability to a condition where many of the people living in the open country are no longer farmers, and who in turn have developed attachments which take them to a diversity of places for

a variety of reasons.

Yet, as we have already noted, knowledgeable persons living at the periphery of a community, had little trouble designating who frequented the two community centers more for services and supplies than other centers. Also in support of a distinctiveness of the area delineated is the fact that the great majority (64.7 percent in Prairie and 92.4 percent in Ozark) of social association choices of persons living within one-fourth mile of the boundary of the two communities in 1966 turned inward instead of a majority outward that would be expected by probability alone. In Ozark and Prairie, as in many other Missouri communities, the high school district boundary closely coincided with the community trade area. Formation of such community areas was facilitated by the way the 1931 School Law permitted, even encouraged, competition for high school students in outlying areas and the way the 1948 School Law formalized attendance areas into legalized school districts, often town centered as in Ozark and Prairie (Missouri Citizens Commission for the Study of Education, 1952). Participation in attendant school activities provided one more element that gave meaning to the area known as community.

About the Changing Informal Social Structure

Neighborhoods. One neighborhood (Angel's Hollow) of five in 1956 had disappeared in Prairie by 1966 and three out of an original eight (Simmons, Sargent, and Union) had disappeared in Ozark by 1966. Alghough one neighborhood in Prairie grew in strength, no new ones appeared in either community.[5] Angel's Hollow persisted up to 1956 mainly because of its isolated river bluff location. This isolation was minimized in the following decade when an all-weather road was built through the area. In Ozark, Sargeant and Union were weak in 1956 with little of any special nature to hold them together. Thus their disappearance was expected. Simmons, which reached its peak of development about forty years past, could have then qualified as a trade area community in the sense that we are using it here. At this time, it had a doctor's office, a telephone exchange, a bank, three cafe's, a blacksmith's shop, cattle barn, three grocery stores and a school. Even though the area had declined precipitiously to oblivion as a neighborhood in 1966, it nevertheless appeared to be a strong one in 1956. Although its peripheral location to two other strong service centers, both of which had economically aggressive town fathers, surely operated to hasten its decline. Nothing more specific about its demise as a neighborhood is available from this study.

Finally, inspection of the community -- neighborhood maps for the two communities at the two points in time clearly reveals that the geographic area covered by the specific remaining ones in Ozark decreased substantially (see figures 1-4). On the other hand, there was little change in the geographic area covered by those in Prairie.

The growth and decline of neighborhoods was further pursued by noting the percent of farm operators who were affiliated with neighborhoods

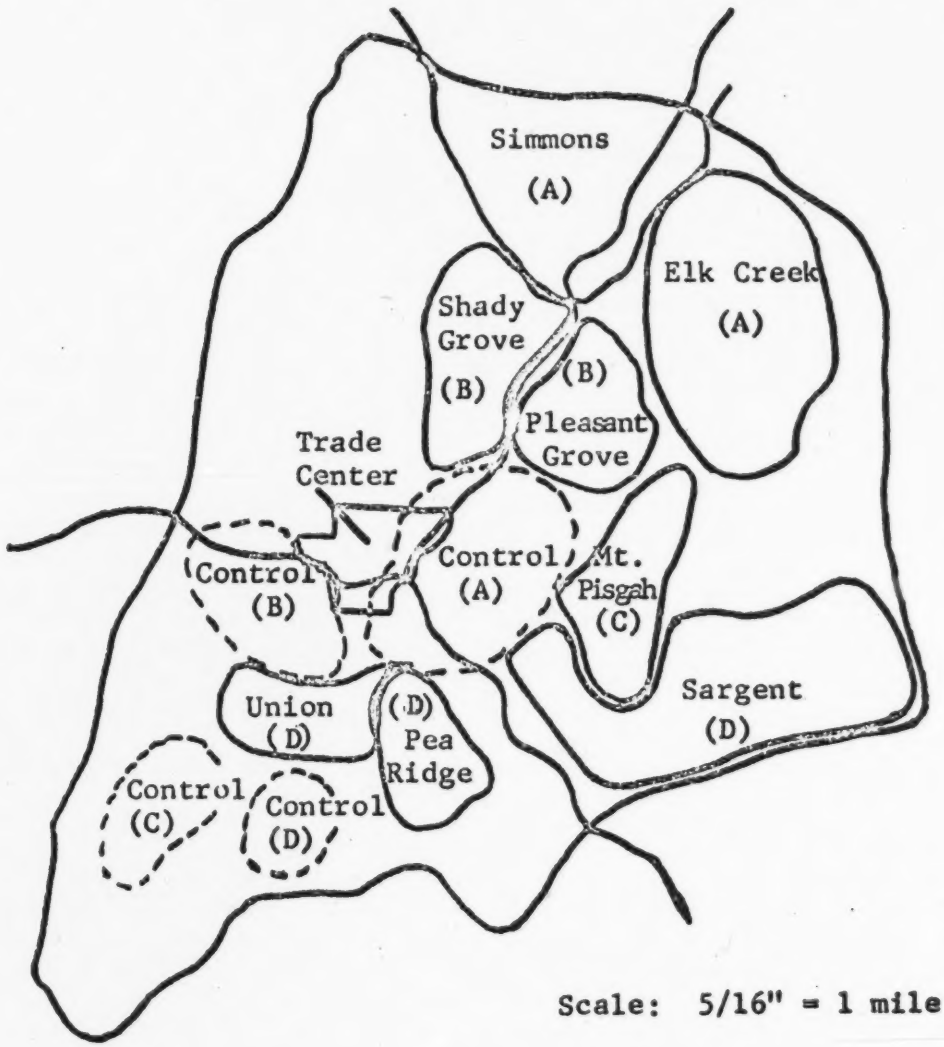

FIGURE 1

LOCATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS AND CONTROL AREAS, OZARK 1956

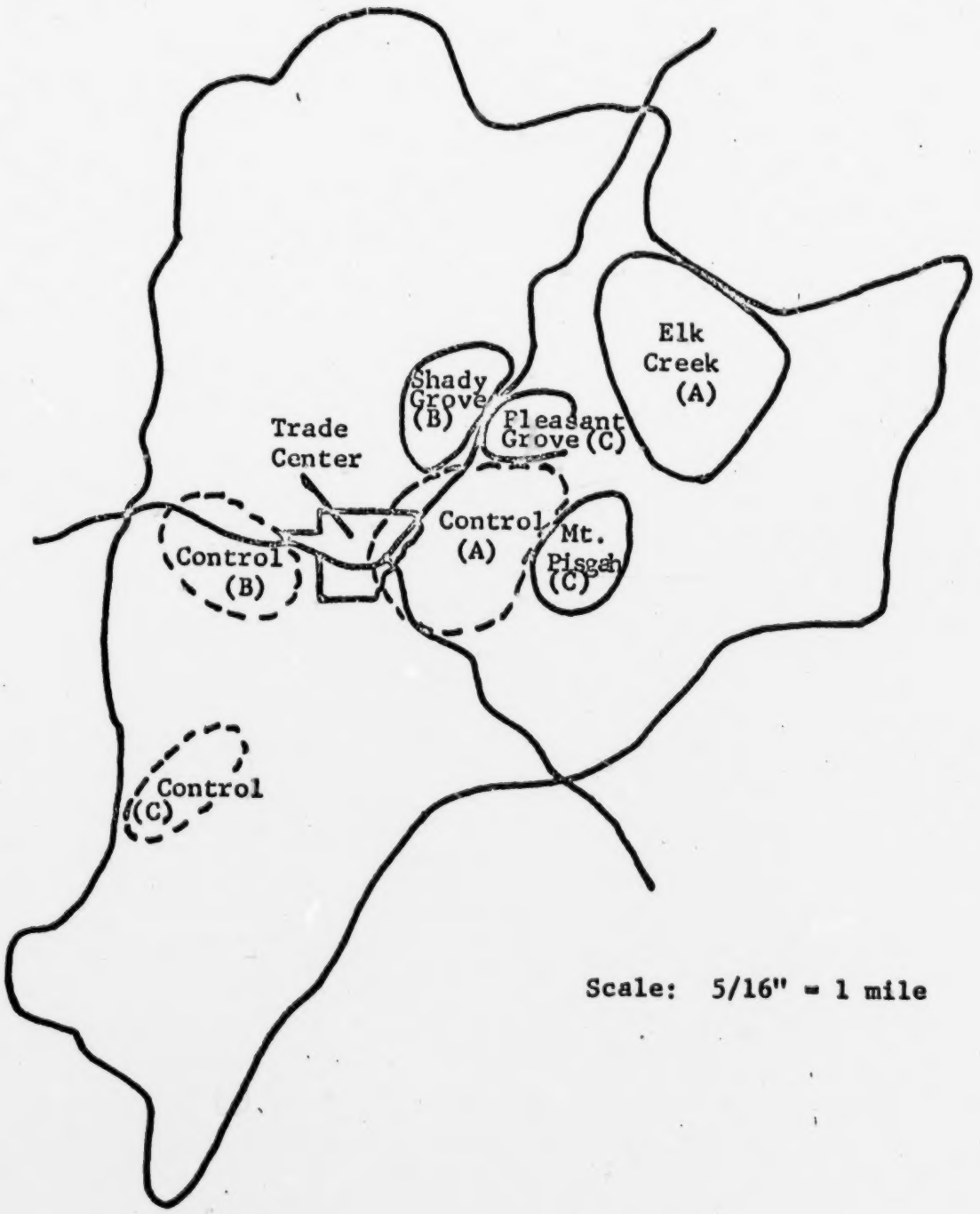

FIGURE 2

LOCATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS AND CONTROL AREAS, OZARK 1966

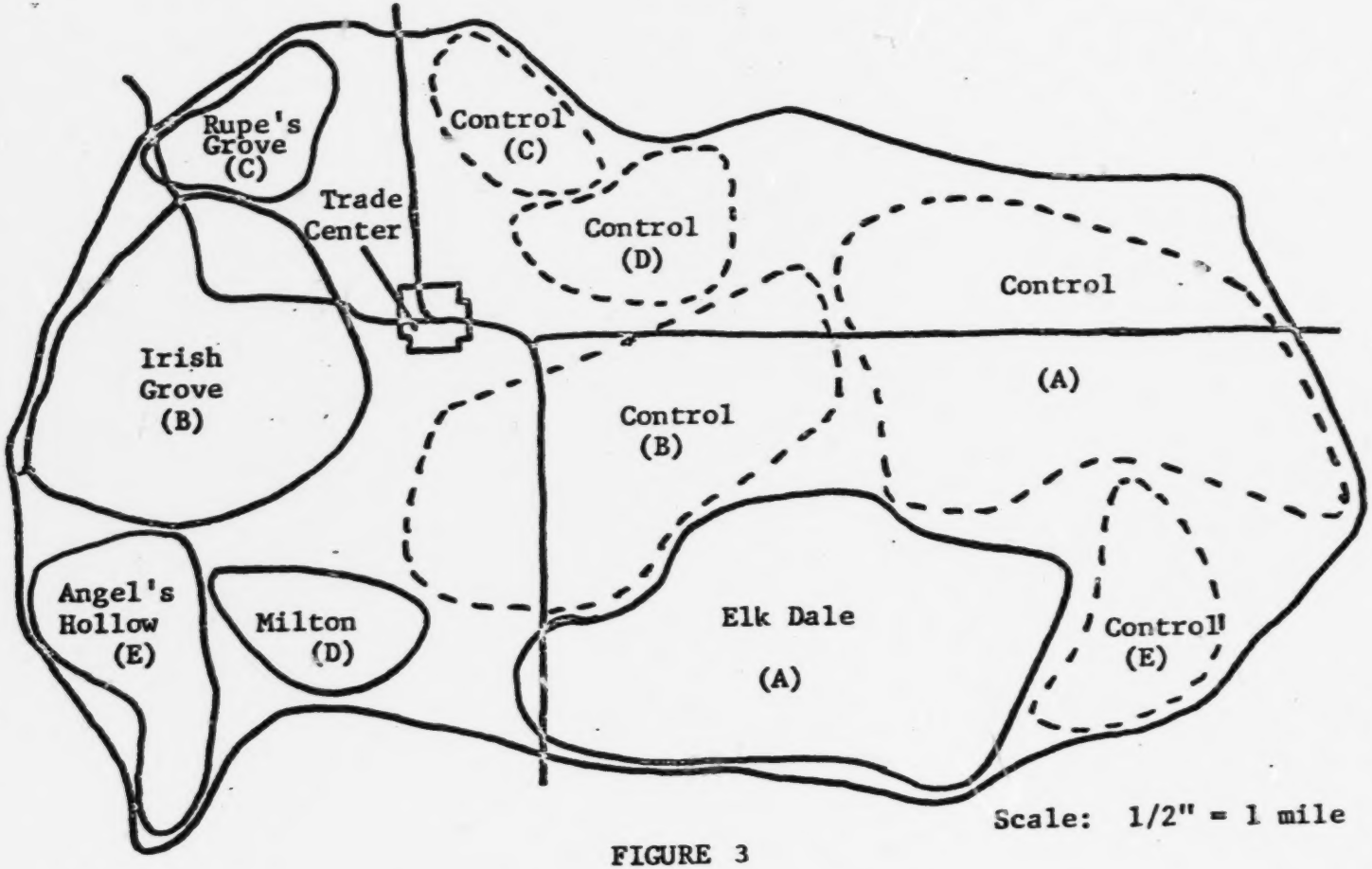

FIGURE 3

LOCATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS AND CONTROL AREAS, PRAIRIE 1956

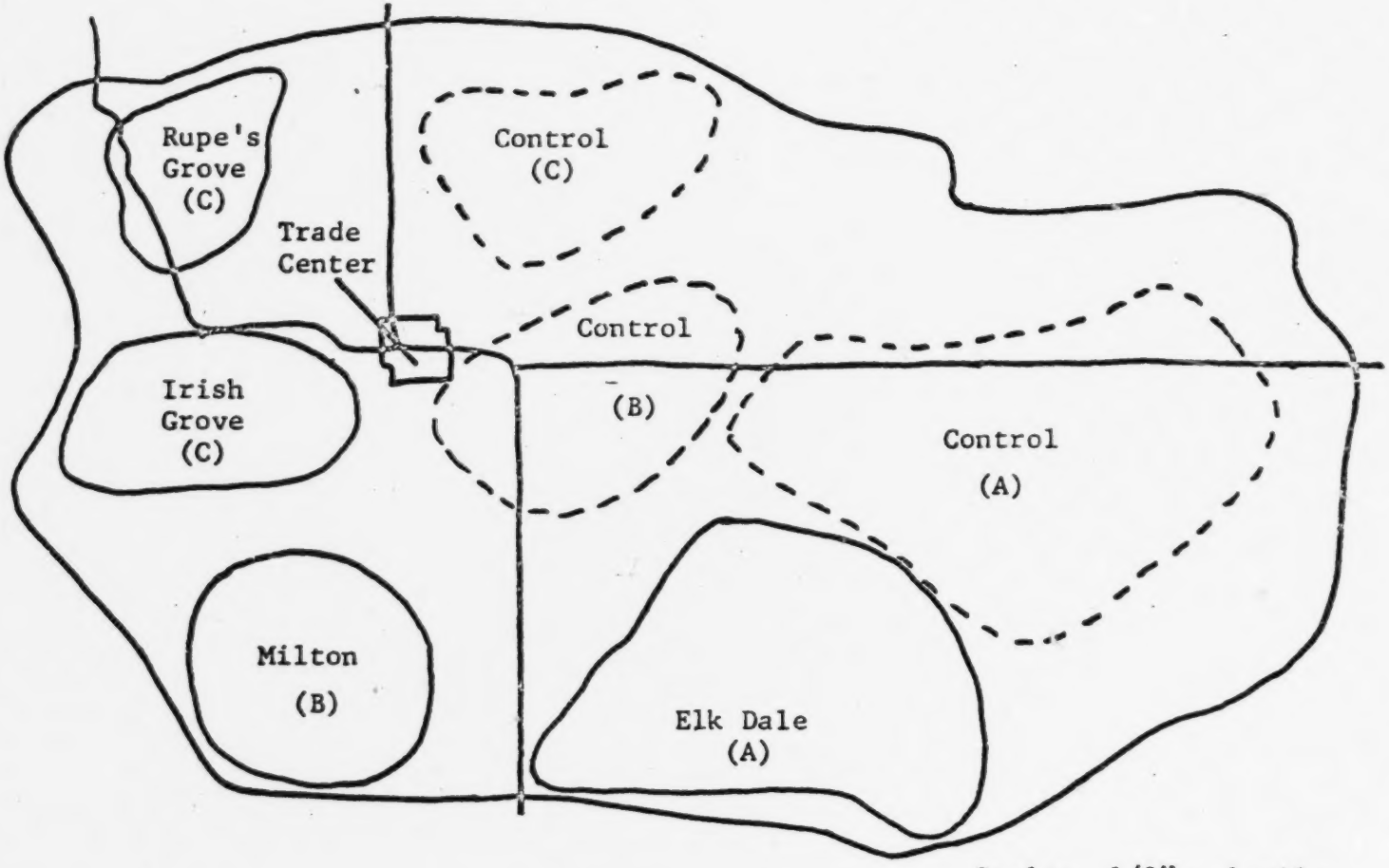

FIGURE 4

LOCATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS AND CONTROL AREAS, PRAIRIE 1966

in 1956 and in 1966 and the degree to which their close associational choices were confined to their own neighborhoods, compared to control groups of a comparable size and location.

First, we note from Table 1 that the percent of farmers (including those who were both neighborhood and clique members) living in neighborhoods declined in Ozark from 52.6 percent to 23.3 percent but remained essentially constant in Prairie at 47.7 percent and 48.8 percent, respectively. In like manner in Prairie, the percentage of farmers who were members of both neighborhood and cliques and who were members of neither remained about the same over the ten-year period. In contrast the percentage of farmers who were members of neighborhoods only declined very sharply in Ozark while those who were members of neither increased sharply.

Looking second at Table 4 we see that the containment of social associational relationships was much higher for neighborhood than for control groups in Ozark, and that some increase in neighborhood containment occurred over the ten-year period. At the same time, this was accompanied by a decrease in the containment in control groups, which suggested a tightening of within neighborhood association, despite a decline in the number of neighborhoods that occurred in the community.

In Prairie, social associational choices became distinctly more diffuse in both neighborhood and control areas. But there still was a substantially greater containment within neighborhoods than within comparable control groups. This, again, showed that neighborhoods were characteristized by distinctive patterns of association. This same inclination to greater social associational containment in neighborhood than control groups also was manifest in the all but four of the 21 specific

TABLE 1 PERCENT OF FARM OPERATORS CLASSIFIED BY INFORMAL GROUP MEMBERSHIP IN OZARK AND PRAIRIE -- 1956-1966

Type of Informal group membership	Ozark		Prairie	
	1956 % (n=238)	1966 % (n=227)	1956 % (n=218)	1966 % (n=174)
All farm operators	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Neighborhoods only	28.2	13.2	21.1	23.0
Cliques only	11.3	22.0	22.0	21.2
Both	24.4	10.1	26.6	25.8
Neither	36.1	54.7	30.3	30.0

TABLE 2 MEAN COHESIVENESS SCORE OF NEIGHBORHOODS AND CONTROL GROUPS IN OZARK AND PRAIRIE, 1956-1966

Community (areas)	Cohesiveness Score 1956	1966
Ozark		
Neighborhoods	0.22	0.17
Control groups	0.01	-0.07
Prairie		
Neighborhoods	0.24	0.02
Control groups	-0.02	-0.19

neighborhood -- control group comparisons for both communities 1956 and 1966. Two of these exceptions occurred in Ozark neighborhoods in 1956 that had disappeared in 1966. The other two occurred in 1966 in Prairie where by additional more subjective criteria, the neighborhoods appeared to be in a state of impending demise, if in fact they existed at the time of the 1966 study in other than name only.

Cohesiveness of a neighborhood is still another matter. Neighborhoods may exert a containing and facilitating influence on social association of their members, but still lack cohesiveness -- conceptually regarded as the extent to which fellow members are attracted to each other associationally.

First in regard to the neighborhoods that persisted, cohesiveness decreased only slightly in Ozark (.22 to .17) but greatly in Prairie (.24 to .02). Even control groups in Ozark showed a borderline cohesiveness but much less than for neighborhoods.

The more diffuse associational situation in Prairie was further demonstrated by the sharp decline in neighborhood cohesiveness and the almost repelling kind of social associational inclinations of farmers living in control groups in 1966; almost as if persons at some distance were more acceptable as social associates than those close at hand.

But in Ozark, the number of neighborhoods and percent of farmers who were neighborhood members declined substantially, but their cohesiveness showed only a modest decrease.

Social Cliques. Referring again to Table 1, we observe that percent of farm operators who were clique members decreased slightly in Ozark from 35.7 to 32.1 percent (again with farmers who were members of both neighborhoods combined), but remained essentially stable in Prairie, with

48.6 and 47.0 percent, respectively. As with the "neighborhoods only" category, in Prairie, those who were members of only social cliques remained about constant. This was also true of those who were members of both.

On the other hand, in Ozark, there was a distinct increase in the percentage of farmers who were members of cliques only and a sharp decline in the percent who were members of both. This suggested a tendency to increased differentiation in informal group association. Also with more farmers affiliated with neither neighborhoods or social cliques in 1966 than 1956, the possibility of a trend to greater social isolation was posed. This will be examined later.

Neighborhood-Clique Affiliation Overlap

The essence of issues posed here is the nature of the relationship between neighborhoods and cliques. With cliques being selective of persons on a special interest basis in an increasingly differentiated society, it has been sometimes held that they are supplanting neighborhoods as informal groups next in significance beyond the family (Loomis and Beegle, 1950, 187-188). Accordingly, it might be expected that dispossessed neighborhood members would become affiliated with social cliques. Also that where neighborhoods are declining because of increasing differentiation of interests and social association of local residents in contrast to decline as a result of local residents moving away, a social clique residual may be expected to persist as part of what was once a neighborhood, assumed to be associationally inclusive of all people within its boundaries.

In looking at what happened in the two communities over the ten-year period, we are again reminded that stability of clique and neighborhood

attachments in Prairie was too high to make any inferences about changes. But this situation was drastically different in rapidly changing Ozark. Here both number of neighborhoods and percentage of farmers living in them declined sharply as did the percent of farmers who were members of both neighborhoods and social cliques. Conversely, the percent of farmers who were members of cliques only increased at almost an identical rate. Thus, quite aside from the process by which these shifts occurred, a distinct tendency to greater differentiation of informal social group association was clearly evident, i.e., to either neighborhoods or cliques.

Even though shifts to membership in cliques only was clearly evident, there were even greater shifts to disassociation from both. Thus we return to the possibility of a tendency to social isolation even though lack of membership in either a neighborhood or social group could not be taken as primae facie evidence of such isolation.

First, we might ask whether the dispossessed farmers were named as frequently as social associates as those who were members of either a neighborhood or social clique and second, whether they in turn named as many other farmers as social associates as their neighborhood and social clique affiliated counterparts. The answer was that the farmers who were members of neither were named far less frequently than those who were affiliated with either a neighborhood or social clique, median mentions being 1.74 and .32, respectively. This tendency to isolation was further indicated by the fact that only 13.7 percent of the former, but, 39.2 percent of the latter were mentioned by no one. For inclinations to name others as close social-associates the same kind, but smaller, difference was also present.

A second possibility was that farmers who were not a member of either

a neighborhood or social clique (both defined on the basis of association among farmers alone) had become increasingly affiliated with the non-farm residents in the community of whom there were many; perhaps two to each farmer. Since these non-farm residents were not interviewed, no information on reciprocation of choices from them was available. But, a look at whom these non-neighborhood or clique affiliated farmers named as associates showed that they were still very highly oriented to fellow farmers. Seventy-four percent named more farmers than non-farmers as close social associates. At the same time, with less than five percent naming no one, few were completely isolated socially, at least from their own point of view. Yet, in the final analysis, the weight of the evidence was in support of greater social dissassociation of farmers who were members of either a clique or neighborhood from their fellow farmers than the farmers who were affiliated with either one or the other or both.

About the Question of Why

Although there was a greater tendency for neighborhoods to persist in Prairie than in Ozark, there was a distinct decline in their cohesiveness and containment of social association. In a sense, this brings us back to conclusions of the students of rural life twenty years past that neighborhoods were on a decline, and to those who appeared quite willing to dismiss them from further consideration. But a lingering persistence also suggests that there must be reasons why they have persisted.

Indeed with the migration of schools, churches, blacksmith shops, post offices, grocery stores and other services to town, all of which had served as an integrating base to neighborhood existance, one could well wonder whether there was anything left that could provide a sufficient integrating base for their continued existance. Rural schools among the last to move to town, in the two communities proceeded quickly after

the passage of the 1948 Missouri School Law, which virtually required rapid school consolidation. Also, nearly all open country churches, of which there were several in Ozark 1956 had either disbanded or moved to town by 1966. This had already occurred in Prairie by the time of the first study.

What, then, could there be to prolong the life of neighborhoods and perhaps contribute to their continued existence? We will examine two possibilities, (1) that informal social association that accompanies participation in formally organized special interest groups might serve as a sufficient integrating base -- as at least one earlier student of rural life seemed to suggest (Kolb, 1959, 62), and (2) that they exist mostly as instrumental support mechanisms for farming as a way of life. If the first is the case, we would expect formal social participation in neighborhoods to be greater than in either cliques or among persons who were not members of neighborhoods; also that informal social association traditionally associated with church life in rural society, would be more prevalent in neighborhoods than informal association associated with the essentially secular special interest groups. For such a test formal social participation scores were divided into sacred, which was almost exclusively church, and secular which included a diversity of other special interest groups like participation in farm clubs, agricultural committees, parent teachers' associations and garden clubs.

Possible Formal Group Support Base. Turning now to Table 3, we can observe a general tendency for increased formal social participation in both communities over the ten-year period. This increase was greater, in Ozark, for both farmers living in neighborhoods and social cliques only, than among those who were affiliated with neither. For those

living in both, participation in formal social groups was highest of all in both years. But, there was no evidence that participation level in formal social groups was any higher for neighborhood than for clique members. In fact, the balance seemed to be slightly the reverse. One might then suspect by this aggregate type of analysis that participation in formally organized social groups served almost equally as integrating and/or facilitating mechanisms for neighborhoods and social cliques.

But more definitive cues came from the way clique and neighborhood membership was associated with sacred and secular social participation. Accordingly, from Table 3 we note that sacred social participation (almost synonymous with church) was about equally high for neighborhood members only and members of both neighborhoods and cliques both in 1956 and 1966; also that the greatest increase occurred in the "neighborhood only" group. This is quite strongly in support of a continuing church participation support base for neighborhoods in Ozark. Although sacred social participation was distinctly higher for farmers who resided in neighborhoods only than in cliques only and in turn higher in the both category than in the neither -- both 1956 and 1966, it was lowest of all for "clique members only" in 1956. Thus, it would seem that the informal activities associated with church life may indeed facilitate the existence and sustenance of neighborhoods mostly and perhaps social cliques to a degree also depending on where the church is located, i.e., in the open country serving a very limited segment of the population, or in town where it is more likely to draw people from a wide geographic area.

On the other hand, secular social participation seemed to be more clearly supportive of social cliques than neighborhoods. Thus, in Ozark, secular social participation was distinctly higher for both the clique

TABLE 3 MEAN TOTAL, SACRED AND SECULAR SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF FARM OPERATORS IN FORMAL SOCIAL GROUPS, OZARK AND PRAIRIE, 1956-1966

Community and kind of social participation	All Farm Operators		Residence of Farm Operators: Neighborhoods		Cliques		Both		Neither	
	1956	1966	1956	1966	1956	1966	1956	1966	1956	1966
Ozark										
Total	8.54	9.98	8.42	10.00	8.22	11.88	10.52	11.96	7.40	8.62
Sacred	4.64	5.42	4.70	7.30	3.07	5.24	6.45	7.00	3.86	4.75
Secular	3.85	4.55	3.70	3.53	4.85	6.64	4.03	4.96	3.51	3.87
Prairie										
Total	8.62	10.60	8.16	9.38	7.35	11.41	8.93	12.80	9.57	9.12
Sacred	5.44	5.53	5.22	5.18	4.92	5.41	5.64	7.02	5.78	4.64
Secular	3.19	5.15	2.93	4.20	2.41	6.00	3.31	6.14	3.79	4.44

only and the clique -- neighborhood membership categories than for the farmers who were members of only neighborhoods. Participation level in the clique only category was highest in both years and very distinctly so in 1966, showing a tendency to greater secular formal group participation in social cliques and thus perhaps also to formal group participation as a facilitator of clique formation and maintenance.

In Prairie, a slightly greater association of secular group participation occurred with neighborhood than with clique membership in 1956 but was very sharply and distinctly reversed in 1966 with the highest incidence occurring for farmers who were members of social cliques only (6.00) and those who were members of both social cliques and neighborhoods (6.14). These in turn were much higher than the 4.44 for those who were members of neither or neighborhoods only (4.20). Thus, also in Prairie secular social participation was more associated with clique than neighborhood membership, again providing a potential maintenance and support base for social cliques.

Possible Instrumental Farm Support Base. The second posed explanation of the persistence of neighborhoods was that they existed as instruments for meeting needs of farmers not otherwise supplied, for example, mutual aid and work exchange. Likewise, farmers have continued to rely heavily on each other as sources of farm information. Probably again to meet informational needs, not otherwise supplied. This might well include application, local adaptability and social consequence information. Such information generally cannot be supplied by local research agencies no matter how well local adaptive testing is done.

It can be further reasoned that farm talk and work exchange would persist after local social association in a neighborhood ceases to exist

or to persist longer than distinctive social association. This would be in accord with diffusion research findings that neighborhoods continue to have a containing influence on interpersonal farm informational relationships, at a time when neighborhoods as meaningful social associational entities had been rejected by many students of rural life.

A test of the instrumental "farm support" theory for the continued existence of neighborhoods would be whether in neighborhoods where social-associate containment is declining, farm-talk relationships continue to persist. A second test would be persistence of work-exchange arrangements in neighborhoods to a greater degree than in matching control groups.

First we turn to within neighborhood and control group containment of social association versus farm talk. From Table 4, we see that in Ozark where neighborhood cohesiveness remained high, 1956-1966 social associational containment was higher than for farm talk in 1966, even though in 1956 the reverse was true. But in Prairie, where neighborhoods were losing their cohesiveness, farm talk persisted a little more strongly than social association; percentage containments were 65.4 and 52.1 percent, respectively.

Relative persistence of each in weak neighborhoods and those which disappeared over the ten-year period, provides an additional cue to social association versus farm talk as a support base for neighborhoods. The one neighborhood with a sufficient number of interpersonal relationships reported to permit comparison in Ozark (Simmons), had a higher farm talk than social associational containment in 1956. It was one of the four neighborhoods that had disappeared by 1966. Two in Prairie in 1966 that had more across than within social associational relationships (Irish Grove and Rupes Grove) showed more containment for farm talk than social

TABLE 4 PERCENT OF DESIGNATED INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG FARM OPERATORS IN OZARK AND PRAIRIE THAT OCCURRED WITHIN AND OUTSIDE OWN NEIGHBORHOOD AND CONTROL GROUPS, 1956-1966

Kind of Interpersonal Relationship and Within-Outside Own Group Position of the Person Named	Ozark				Prairie			
	Group Affiliation of the Namer				Group Affiliation of the Namer			
	Neighborhood		Control Group		Neighborhood		Control Group	
	1956 %	1966 %	1956 %	1966 %	1956 %	1966 %	1956 %	1966 %
Social Associate	(n=326)	(n=98)	(n=114)	(n=78)	(n=410)	(n=188)	(n=338)	(n=175)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Inside	69.6	76.1	50.9	43.6	69.8	52.1	46.4	33.1
Outside	30.4	23.9	49.1	56.4	30.2	47.9	53.6	66.9
Farm Informational	(n=101)	(n=55)	(n=38)	(n=33)	(n=98)	(n=52)	(n=102)	(n=43)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Inside	75.0	72.7	55.3	54.5	68.4	65.4	49.0	34.9
Outside	25.0	27.3	44.7	45.5	31.6	34.6	51.0	65.1
Farm Work Exchange	xx	(n=48)	xx	(n=18)	xx	(n=55)	xx	(n=56)
Total	xx	100.0	xx	100.0	xx	100.0	xx	100.0
Inside	xx	78.7	xx	38.9	xx	61.8	xx	51.8
Outside	xx	21.3	xx	61.1	xx	38.2	xx	48.2

association. The one distinct reversal was for Angel's Hollow in 1956, where containment of social associational choices was much higher than for farm talk. However, Angel's Hollow was distinctive in its relative isolation and its low number of "good farmers" available in the neighborhood for consultation in comparison to other neighborhoods. Perhaps where highly competent farmers are locally available, they are consulted, but where they are not, local residents are likely to go to outsiders for the information they need. This we are assuming, may well be more destructive of neighborhood identity and interaction than outward social association.

Work exchange information available only for 1966, showed that local containment was high in both communities; a little higher than for social association. The difference was about 2 percent in Ozark, and 9.7 percent in Prairie. Also in Ozark, neighborhood versus control group containment differences were much more for work exchange than for social association. These differences were 39.8 percent and 22.5 percent, respectively. The high neighborhood containment of work exchange in comparison to social association further supports the farm instrumental support base for neighborhood persistence.

In Prairie, work exchange was highly localized whether within own neighborhood or control group. A little over 52 percent of the social associate relationships in 1966 were confined to neighborhoods, compared to only 33.1 percent in control groups -- a difference of 19 percent. For work exchange, neighborhood confinement was 61.8 percent, but confinement for control groups was also at a high 51.8 percent. The difference of an even 10 percent was thus smaller than for social association.

Accordingly, work exchange, which was generally more localized in Prairie than social association or farm talk was even more localized in neighborhoods than in control groups. Tenuous as it is, evidence from work exchange relationships was generally supportive of the existence of neighborhoods as facilitating mechanisms in meeting a continued work exchange need among farmers.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Prairie lost one neighborhood out of six over the ten-year period, but the percentage of farmers living in neighborhoods remained constant. However, cohesiveness declined and both social association and information exchange became more diffuse. In neighborhood control areas, it was almost as if people living at a distance were preferred to those living close at hand.

Except for continued high cohesiveness of social association of remaining neighborhoods in Ozark, neighborhood decline was evident whether by number continuing to exist, percent of farmers contained therein or geographic size. Yet their continued social significance was indicated by (1) universal feelings of neighborhood identification of those included by definition of neighborhood boundaries by local residents and (2) by a distinctly higher containment of both social associational and farm informational choices in neighborhoods generally than in comparable control groups.

No conclusion of a generally predicted shift from neighborhood to clique association, was present in Prairie. The proportion of farmers who were clique and neighborhood members was so stable that conclusions about changes of this nature was impossible. However, both social association and interpersonal acquisition of farm information became more area diffuse over the

ten-year period and remaining neighborhoods became less cohesive. But in Ozark, the agriculturally unstable community, there was such a shift quite distinctly at the expense of neighborhood membership, but the shift to affiliation with neither a neighborhood or social clique was even greater.

This posed a question of whether this loss of informal group membership was indicative of a tendency to social isolation, or whether these dispossessed persons were becoming socially aligned with the non-farm families in the community, of which there were many in Ozark. To the extent that inferences may be drawn from whom they themselves named as social associates, in 1966 we would have to conclude that their own preference was distinctly to farmers rather than to the non-farm element in the community. However, there were few who named no one as an associate.

It appears that activities related to farming were more instrumental in maintaining neighborhoods than social association. Neighborhoods remained most stable -- with growth in at least one case -- where the strong agricultural support base persisted. Also, the containment of farm informational relationships was higher than the social associational, again suggestive of the farm support base.

Participation in church related formal social groups was generally more prevalent among neighborhood than clique members, while participation in secular social groups was more highly associated with and presumably supportive of social cliques. Thus, it would seem that traditional farm talk and information talk was more supportive of neighborhood than social cliques but instrumental formally organized activities, mostly about matters related to farming -- was most supportive of social cliques.

The changes that occurred in the two communities support the view that social clique formation is the product of a differentiation of

interest occurring within the society with participation in secular social groups operating in conjunction with and perhaps supportive of their existence. While there is some indication that social cliques may be replacing neighborhoods as the predominant context in which social association occurs they had not reached this status in either community. A tendency to greater social isolation as a product of the greater differentiation in social association cannot be ruled out.

FOOTNOTES

[3]For a summary of the early studies, see Kolb, and desBrunner, A Study of Rural Society, (1952, 159-180) or more recently a well documented treatment by Slocum (1962, 370-391) or a general treatment by Smith and Zoph (1970, 243-251). An independent and well documented summary of neighborhood and community studies with projected trends was prepared by Kolb (1959), one of the pioneers of neighborhood studies.

[4]This measure of cohesiveness-repulsion can be formulated as:

$$Coh = \frac{2M}{Ca} \times \frac{Ca-Co}{Ca+Co}$$

Whereas Ca: # of choices among members of the in-group
Co: # of choices going out to members of the out-group
M: # of reciprocated pairs

In the case that $Ca > Co$, M indicates the amount of reciprocated pairs within own group. While, in the case that $Ca < Co$, M indicates the amount of reciprocated pairs with members of the out-group. It, hence, is obvious that Coh measures the degree of cohesiveness in the situation that the tendency of in-group choices is greater than that of out-group choices, $(Ca > Co)$, while Coh measures the degree of repulsion in the reverse situation $(Ca < Co)$. Coh is zero if either (1) there is no reciprocated pair $(M = 0)$ or (2) $Ca = Co$.

[5]Five farm operators in any delineated neighborhood area was taken as an arbitrary minimum for qualification as a neighborhood for analytical purposes in this study.

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